an item will canvass a number of shops, inquiring into its price, until she finds what she believes to be the lowest, nothing more than the "comparison shopping" of the European or American housewife, and without bargaining. This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged. In the summer of 1951 the price of a khunjir or dagger was fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth of this price in Baghdad or Damascus) due to the indiscreet outlay of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor ruse could bring it down again. It was immutably established that Americans pay three dinars for their khunjirs, and one was constantly hailed by persons offering the sorriest specimens in the hopes of realizing that price. Prices are, within certain limits, geared to the social status of the purchaser, and the gaimmaqam, for example, might be expected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In a small town of this sort, however, while prices are uncontrolled, public opinion and the facility with which one merchant will undersell another, set as strong limitations, and the difference between "asking price" and "selling price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. If a customer, for example, wishd to buy six tea-glasses from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the latter would send his boy down to street to borrow what was required from another merchat. The same is true of money, and cashing a large banknote may involve any number

The employment of masons and builders is not solely confined to the town of Rowanduz, for specialists of this type are often called out to neighboring villages to supervise the constructions of wealthier people. The "mason" is not only expected to exercise his own craft, but must also fill the posts of architect, contractor, and general foreman. Having obtained the land, those who desire to build hold a consultation with the mason, reaching a verbal contract in which the materials, the amount of time necessary for completion, and the price are stipulated. The mason must then purchase the materials, arrange for their transportation, hire, insofar as it is necessary, the requisite labor, supervise the construction, and do the most difficult tasks, for example, the actual laying of bricks, himself. Builders of this type do not belong to guild or union, but seem to maintain themselves within the strength of their families. A building operation is apt to involve a number of sons, brothers, and nephews, with the mason as a sort of congenial taskmaster and guiding spirit, who alternately pleads and jests with his workers. The operation can suffer from general lassitude, and the owner must at last have words with the builders. Most houses appear to reach completion by means of a series of such arguments. Constructing a larger house in Rowanduz is a relatively expensive undertaking. Two houses and their land, located in the higher-priced lower portion of town, cost the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, about 1500 dinars. The lots accounted for half the price, and the average cost of

each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for thresholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Ismā'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jejeni Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

294 437 [443] [292] 294 291 [435] 294 855 196

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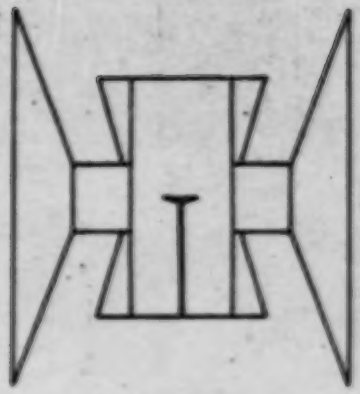

Fig. 72. Diagram. Cut of man's white cotton shirt (E. 2310). ST. cut of woman's kirtle fig. 65).

291 the forearm like a broad, folded white band[1]. Wedge-shaped pieces of material are let into the sides of the shirt. These are 0.19 m. broad at the bottom and end at the top with a square gusset sewn to the armpit. The cuffs, as characteristic of Kurdish men's dress, could be loose, independent elements of pure silk or nylon on sale in the *sūq* of towns like Sulaimani or Halabja, and used in conjunction with a shirt of European pattern in order to retain this typical Kurdish feature even after European elements have made their entry into the dress of men.

Drawers, *dāyyr*[2], (E. 2313) are made of close-woven white cotton material. In cut they are bag-shaped breech-cloth trousers[3] of the same type as those typical of Turkish male dress[4]. However, from the point of view of cut they vary. In the middle of the bag, a rhomboid of material is cut out, turned 45 degrees, and then sewn on again as a gusset (see diagram). By so doing the drawers are given tapering legs whilst the great breadth around the hips and posterior is retained, a shape Edmonds calls "peg top cut"[5]. The width at the top is 2.00 m. and each leg, 0.95 m. long, is 0.40 m. wide. The drawers have a casing at the top with a tape running through it that gathers the fullness around the man's waist. These drawers are peculiar in that, as noticed by Chardin as early as 1711[6], they are quite closed having no fly in the front.

The outer garment, is "a pair", *shāl-u-rūp*[7], consisting of jacket and trousers made of the same material, home-woven woollen[8] cloth, price about 2½ din. = £2/10/0. Such suits can be purchased ready-made in the *sūq* and, as mentioned, appeared in two different types typical of the Sulaimani and Rowanduz areas, respectively.

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Trousers, *lāwāl*, from the Sulaimani district (E. 2314b). The material is woven of goat's wool, dark-brown, light-brown or yellowish-white. The weaving breadth is only 0.160 m., and the trousers therefore consist of 12 lengths of material sewn together. Before being sewn the material is folded together and braided (cf. p. 93), so that each length of material obtains two sharp longitudinal creases which,

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574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
656 follows:-
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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | The Agha himself | |
| 1 | Wife | |
| 3 | Sons | |
| 4 | Daughters | |
| 7 | Maidservants | Mostly kinsfolk of some sort |
| 4 | Manservants | |
| 1 | Mulla | |
| 1 | Brother | |
| 5 | Guests | |
| 3 | By exaggeration | |
| 30 | | |

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expenses of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
263 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
272 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
177 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
435 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities
574 of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 4½/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
262 between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of
511 Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

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433 being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
299 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary cultivator will be forced to evaluate his lands fundamentally in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is an enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the England market, - hardly a desirable development.

299 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation
427 may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents.
435 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system rents without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added consequence that the commoner who grows tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

349 On the analogy with the Iceland areas the ultimate line of
622 evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill. Thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

349 From the Government's point of view such a development is not
464 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is mirî land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.